T H E

PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 24, [illegible]

YORK-TOWN.

The following is taken from a Philadelphia News-Paper, of April 17, publiſhed by James Robertſon.

By a Ship of War, which arrived here on Tueſday laſt, in 28 days from England, with diſpatches for his Excellency the Commander in Chief, we have been favoured with the lateſt London papers, from which we have extracted the following intelligence.

LONDON, Feb. 19.

THE Houſe of Commons went into a committee on Tueſday night after the debate was over, upon the propoſals offered by Lord North relative to America; and as ſoon as the chairman left the chair, a motion was made,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill, to enable his "Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners to treat, conſent, "and agree on the means of quieting the diſorders now "ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and "provinces of America." Alſo,

"A Bill for declaring the intentions of the Parliament "of Great-Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right "of impoſing taxes on the colonies, plantations and pro"vinces of America."

The queſtion was then put and agreed, and the Bills ordered to be brought in by Lord North, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Sir Grey Cooper, &c.

FEBRUARY 19.

Lord NORTH's SPEECH, on his CONCILIATORY MOTION, on Tueſday laſt, from a Member.

THE propoſition which I have the honour to offer to this Houſe is for two acts of Parliament. I will now open the contents of them full, and will then refer them to a Committee of the whole Houſe. At the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, on the firſt day, during the debate on the Addreſs to his Majeſty, I told the Houſe, that in my opinion terms might be made with the colonies, ſhort of unconditional ſubmiſſion, and that the time of making them was the moment of victory. I ſaid this thinking that the victory gained by Sir William Howe was more deciſive than it really was, and ignorant at the time of the diſaſter which had fallen on General Burgoyne's army. When the news of that melancholy event arrived, I was ſtruck, that the time of propoſed terms was paſt, and that the firſt point to be done was the raiſing of new levies, and a new force. The conſequences of that misfortune were unknown; the general idea was, that the victorious army would march to Philadelphia, and that, fluſhed with victory, a general engagement might have happened, which would have been deciſive. I thought it neceſſary, therefore, to wait till the end of the campaign, till I had a knowledge of all the events of it; it is ended, and nothing deciſive has happened. The forces of Waſhington are not ſufficient to make him quit his defenſive plan. Our army is great, our navy is great, our men in health, in ſpirits, and well ſupplied; but the reſiſtance of America is greater, and the war has laſted longer, than was at firſt apprehended, much longer than any friend to this country could wiſh, and I do not think that it will end this campaign. I think that our forces are ſufficient to compel America to accept of reaſonable terms; but I make my propoſition on this ground, that it is better to offer a conceſſion to the colonies now, which may end the conteſt within the year, than to continue the war for three or four years longer, though with the aſſurance of complete conqueſt. In the preſent ſituation of affairs only three propoſitions can be made:

I. To ſtrengthen our force, and continue the war upon the preſent plan.

II. To recal it from America. And,

III. To offer terms of conciliation to her.

The firſt propoſition is attended with too great an expence of men and money; an expence which conqueſt itſelf would not balance. The ſecond is, to ſubſcribe to the independency of America. The third is that which appears to me to be the beſt and wiſeſt. I never thought of propoſing an ultimatum to America. In a conteſt which contains ſo many nice and difficult points, ſo many matters which demand future remedies, without any perſon preſent on the part of the colonies, that would be impoſſible and impracticable. Whatever you give, unleſs it is firſt ſettled and agreed on by perſons authoriſed by the colonies, might be given in vain. The danger alſo of publiſhing ſuch an ultimatum would be great; every word would be critically examined by jealous powers, and receive an invidious and falſe conſtruction, or unjuſt comment. Every propoſition would be blaſted before it reached America. If it got [illegible] entire, the Colonies, by refuſing [illegible] defray all. I wiſh, therefore, for [illegible] with America. I think that there is [illegible] ſtill left in that country towards this, that [illegible] a diſtinction is more than half the [illegible] [illegible] The powers [illegible] They muſt be ample, as to the perſons with whom they treat, and as to the objects concerning which they treat. As to the perſons the preſent commiſſioners have great powers; but the preſent act muſt be full, and clear, containing no doubt; no doubt whether they ſhall treat with the Congreſs, with rebels, with perſons actually in arms; whether with a General Aſſembly of all the colonies, or with the aſſembly of a particular colony. The only rule to guide the commiſſioners muſt be, whether the perſons with whom they treat are authoriſed ſo to do. I ſhall therefore propoſe, that ſuch perſons ſhall be deſcribed in the moſt general words. There ſhould be no etiquette; the time for that is paſt. As to the objects of the treaty, they ſhould be as generally deſcribed. The commiſſioners ſhould be enabled to treat on all grievances exiſting, or ſuppoſed to exiſt in the laws of the colonies, or in the ſtatutes of this realm; on all matters, proviſions or things, and on all aids and future contributions to be furniſhed by the colonies; for I have reaſon to think, from the declarations of the colonies, that they are willing to contribute their ſhare to the public ſupport. This will make the tye ſtronger between us. Thoſe who derive an advantage from a ſtate, ought to contribute to the burthens of it. The execution of theſe powers muſt require the ſubſequent ſanction of Parliament; but there are ſome points in which the opinion of the commiſſioners muſt prevail immediately, as the granting of pardons and [illegible] a ceſſation of hoſtilities. They muſt have alſo another immediate [illegible] extenſive, founded on the example of an act paſſed in the reign of Charles II. the power of ſuſpending acts of Parliament. The colonies have demanded to be put in the ſituation they were in 1763. I doubt they will never be placed exactly in the ſame ſituation; but perhaps they may be placed in one not much leſs advantageous. The ſtatutes ſince that year are many; many of them are beneficial to the colonies; many neceſſary for their dependance as to trade; and many ought to be repealed, all perhaps ſhould be reviſed. I would give the Commiſſioners full power to take them all into their conſideration, and to ſuſpend ſuch as ſhould be repealed. There is another proviſion, which is, perhaps, a matter of convenience only; they ſhould have a power of appointing Governors in theſe colonies where his Majeſty was uſed to appoint them. I ſhall propoſe to limit the duration of this act to June 1. 1779. If I was to ſtop here the plan would be certainly defective; defective in not offering an inducement to the colonies to treat with us. They muſt give up their claim of independency; but to induce them to do this, they muſt be certain of ſomething fixed and decided. If it is neceſſary to hold out an inducement to all the colonies collectively, it is equally neceſſary to hold it out to each colony in particular. Though ſome may not renounce their independency, ſome may; and it will not be ſaid, that if the Commiſſioners cannot treat with all, they ſhall not treat with any. The colonies muſt have ſome other inducement than mere hopes. Before the war broke out, I offered a conciliatory propoſition to America: I offered it before the ſword was drawn. The ground upon which I made it was, that it was juſt the colonies ſhould contribute to the ſupport of Government, but that their taxation by Parliament occaſioned jealouſies in them of our attempting to throw the burden off our own ſhoulders upon them, and of endangering the ſecurity of their Aſſemblies. This propoſition was unfortunate; it was rendered ſuſpicious by the ſuppoſition of a variety of caſes; it was miſrepreſented or miſunderſtood. I thought it neceſſary to ſhow them, that we were not fighting for taxation, for I never thought that ſuch taxation would be very beneficial to us. The ſtamp was the beſt duty that could be laid; and even that would not have produced much, ſo great was the averſion to it. My intent of making this propoſition was, to prevent the war, by preſerving our rights, and freeing them from their jealouſies. In many of the Aſſemblies there was an inclination to have accepted it, but they referred it to the Congreſs. The Congreſs treated it as unreaſonable and inſidious, and rejected it. War began, and my intention was, from the beginning, at the moment of victory, to have propoſed the ſame propoſition, in terms obviating all the miſrepreſentations and miſ-underſtandings concerning it. The principal objections to it were,

I. That the colonies had a ſole right of granting their own money. My propoſition looked to a permanent revenue to be granted by them in the firſt inſtance. My idea was, that they ſhould grant their own money in proportion to our grants, riſing and falling with them.

II. That it was unreaſonable, becauſe the quantity was not aſcertained; but their contribution was afterwards to undergo the reviſal of Parliament. This was not my idea:—My intent was, that their proportion ſhould be ſettled, and being ſettled, ſhould always remain the ſame.

III. That it was inſidious, becauſe the miniſtry intended to get one colony to bid againſt another. I had no ſuch intent. The Congreſs might have ſettled what each colony ſhould offer. I will now hold out to the colonies a ceſſation of the exerciſe of taxation, and I will not ſubject it to any conditions, or to the demand of any ſpecific contribution. My propoſition, therefore, is, an Act of Parliament, grounded on the jealouſies of the exerciſe of the right of taxation, and on their declarations of their being willing to contribute, to take away this exerciſe abſolutely, truſting to the negociations of our Commiſſioners for gaining contributions from the colonies: But I did not mean to make their grant a ſine qua non, but will declare, by an Act of Parliament, that for the future the Parliament will not tax the colonies for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue; and if on account of commerce, that the money ſo raiſed ſhall be appropriated to the uſe of the colonies. I propoſe this as an explicit declaration. It may be ſaid, ſhould not the colonies give up their claim of independency? The renunciation of that claim is implied in the act itſelf. It may be ſaid alſo, if you give up taxation, what is there left to fight for? I never thought taxation a ſufficient object for the conteſt, and upon this idea I made my propoſition before the war begun. But I fought for the dependance of America. The Congreſs claimed independency. The colony of Maſſachuſetts-Bay claimed it, and a great outrage was committed on our merchants. The war has coſt us more than any revenue which could have been raiſed from America by Parliament. The conteſt was for ſupremacy. But it may be urged, that conceſſions in time of war, of ſo public a nature, are dangerous. It is the misfortune of this war, involved in ſo many parliamentary points, to require public ſteps. The ſtate of our reſources is well known. This conceſſion cannot therefore, in this reſpect, be prejudicial to us. Our army and navy are great; our loſs can be repaired; the neceſſary ſupplies can be raiſed; and our cuſtoms are not diminiſhed. But why was not conceſſion made before? I am willing that my paſt conduct ſhould be inſpected. I never propoſed any tax. When I was unfortunate enough (for I will ſtill uſe the word, notwithſtanding the uſe made of it) to be placed in my preſent office, I thought there was a gleam of hope that the colonies would return to their duty. My maxim was to ſay nothing about America; neither to propoſe or repeal taxes; neither to advance or ſecede; but to remain in total ſilence. But when it was neceſſary to give the Eaſt-India Company a power of ſelling their tea in America, I did not think it right to repeal the tax. I however diminiſhed it. A repeal would have been of no ſervice, for America was afraid that the Eaſt-India Company would underſell their ſmugglers. A monopoly was alſo urged. They had, in fact, the commodity cheaper than they had it before. If they deemed this a grievance, they were ready to make any thing a grievance. When the war was begun, I thought it neceſſary to accompany our forces with a pacific commiſſion,—and the Commiſſioners were men of abilities, men of honour, men of a pacific diſpoſition, men truſted by America, who were the moſt likely to bring about a reconciliation. But this commiſſion produced no effect, becauſe the claims of America were ſo diſtant. When the ſword was drawn, why did I not make my propoſition? I own I thought that the war would ſoon have ended, and I ſhould have made it, had America been reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion; but misfortunes, miſconduct, or a greater natural force in America than was expected, and which no man could foreſee, have carried on the war to its preſent length. I will never own that adminiſtration has deceived the public, in wanting to delude them into meaſures which they thought were ineffectual. The information laid before Parliament was full: Parliament had every paper neceſſary to found its judgment: no papers were retained but thoſe only, which, for the ſake of the writers, would have been dangerous to have expoſed. But the deception is, that adminiſtration ſaid that, in their opinion, the war would ſoon be at an end. Our army and navy were great; Sir W. Howe's army was generally ſuperior to Waſhington's; and General Burgoyne's army, when at Fort Edward, was ſtronger than the enemy's force. Parliament knew the force ſent out as well as the miniſter. Miniſtry promiſed that the army ſhould be ſupplied. The army has been ſupplied. Miniſtry promiſed to raiſe the money neceſſary for the ſervices. The money has been raiſed. The public therefore has been deceived by the event. It may be aſked, what is likely to be the effect of this propoſition? The real effect I cannot ſay, but it is a right thing to endeavour to bring about a peace. I do not ſee that any other conceſſion can be made, without admitting the complete independency of America. But what would be the effect of that independency? I cannot ſee into futurity; but it is big with many poſſible evils. Independency, with a cordial love between us, is one thing; with an union with our enemies, fatal. From their independency a danger ariſes from a great naval power; a danger alſo to our other poſſeſſions. I do not think that we ſhould yield to it, till our reſources are much lowered. Independency is not beneficial to America. She cannot be ſo happy, ſo eaſy, cannot have ſuch perſonal liberty, as if ſhe remains dependent on us. If independent, ſhe muſt be loaded with heavy burthens, more heavy than ſhe had; her perſonal liberty will not be ſo great. Her preſent ſituation, as compared with ours, is ten times more grievous. Her farmers are ruined; when all the neceſſaries of life ſell at prices the moſt high, they are compelled to ſell the produce of their land at a ſmall price in compariſon. I was aſſured that at Albany, tea, a neceſſary article there, ſold at 16 dollars per pound; and ſalt at 30 dollars per buſhel. Thinking that men in this ſituation will be inclined to peace upon juſt and reaſonable terms, I move the Houſe for leave to bring in two bills, &c. &c.

DRAUGHT of a BILL for declaring the intentions of the Parliament of Great-Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing Taxes within his Majeſty's Colonies, Provinces and Plantations in North-America.

WHEREAS the exerciſe of the right of Taxation by the Parliament of Great-Britain, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in his Majeſty's Colonies, Provinces and Plantations in North-America, has been found by experience to occaſion great uneaſineſſes and diſorders, and has by ſundry miſrepreſentations been made the means of miſleading many of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, who yet acknowledge the juſtice of contributing to the common defence of the empire, provided ſuch contributions ſhould be raiſed under the authority of the General Court, or General Aſſembly, of each reſpective colony, province or plantation: *And whereas*, in order as well as to remove the ſaid uneaſineſſes, and to quiet the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects, who may be diſpoſed to return to their allegiance, as to reſtore the peace and welfare of all his Majeſty's dominions, It is expedient to declare, that the King and Parliament of Great-Britain will not impoſe any duty, tax or aſſeſſment, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue within any of the ſaid colonies, provinces or plantations:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, That it may be declared and enacted, and it is hereby declared and enacted, &c. That from and after the paſſing of this Act, the King and Parliament of Great-Britain will not impoſe any duty, tax or aſſeſſment whatſoever, payable within any of his Majeſty's colonies, provinces and plantations in North-America, except only ſuch duties as it may be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of ſuch duties to be always paid and applied to, and for, the uſe of the colony, province or plantation, in which the ſame ſhall be reſpectively levied, in ſuch manner as other duties collected by the authority of the reſpective General Courts, or General Aſſemblies, of ſuch colonies, provinces or plantations, are ordinarily paid and applied.

DRAUGHT of a BILL to enable his Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners with ſufficient powers to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North-America.

FOR the quieting and extinguiſhing of divers jealouſies and miſapprehenſions of danger to their liberties and legal rights, which have miſled many of his Majeſty's ſubjects in the colonies, provinces and plantations of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, and for a fuller manifeſtation of the juſt and gracious purpoſes of his Majeſty and his Parliament, to maintain and ſecure all his ſubjects in a clear and perfect enjoyment of ſuch liberties and rights; *Be it enacted*, &c. That persons to be appointed by his Majeſty, under the Great Seal of Great-Britain, or any of them, ſhall by force of this Act, have full power, commiſſion, and authority to treat, conſult, and agree with ſuch body or bodies political and corporate, or with ſuch aſſembly or aſſemblies of men, or with ſuch perſon or perſons, as in their wiſdom and diſcretion, they ſhall think meet, of and concerning any grievances, or complaints of grievances, exiſting, or ſuppoſed to exiſt, in the government of any of the ſaid colonies, provinces, or plantations reſpectively, or in the laws and ſtatutes of this realm reſpecting the ſame; and of or concerning any aid or contribution to be furniſhed by all or any of the colonies, provinces, or plantations reſpectively, for the common defence of this realm, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and of and concerning ſuch other regulations, proviſions, matters and things, as upon mature deliberation of the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any   of them, ſhall be thought neceſſary or convenient for the honour of his Majeſty, and the common good of all his ſubjects.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted and declared, That no regulation, proviſion, matter or thing ſo propoſed, treated, conſulted or agreed, ſhall have any other force or effect, or be carried further into execution, than is hereinafter mentioned and provided, until the ſame ſhall have been approved by Parliament.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in order to facilitate the good purpoſes of this Act, it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any   of them, from time to time, as they ſhall judge it convenient, to order and proclaim a ceſſation of hoſtilities, on the part of his Majeſty's troops, in any of the ſaid colonies or plantations, or any part thereof, for any time, and under any conditions or reſtrictions, which they ſhall think convenient, and ſuch Order and Proclamation to revoke and annul in the ſame manner and form, according to their diſcretion.

And be it further enacted, That it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any   of them, by Proclamation under their reſpective hands and ſeals, from time to time, to ſuſpend the operation and effects of a certain Act of Parliament, made and paſſed in the 16th year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, for prohibiting all trade and intercourſe with certain colonies and plantations therein named, and for the other purpoſes therein alſo mentioned, or any of the proviſions or reſtrictions therein contained, for ſuch convenient time as the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall think proper, ſpecifying in ſuch Proclamation at what times or places reſpectively, and with what exceptions and reſtrictions, the ſaid ſuſpenſion ſhall take effect, and the ſaid Suſpenſion and Proclamation in the ſame manner and form to annul and revoke, according to their diſcretion.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any   of them, may, and they are hereby authoriſed and impowered to ſuſpend in ſuch places, and for ſuch times as they ſhall think fit, during the continuance of this act, the operation and effect of all or any of the Act or Acts of Parliament which have paſſed ſince the 10th day of February 1763, and which relate to any of his Majeſty's ſaid colonies, provinces or plantations in North-America, ſo far as the ſame does relate to them, or the operation and effect of any clauſe, or any proviſion or matter therein contained, ſo far as ſuch clauſes, proviſions or matters, relate to any of the ſaid colonies, provinces or plantations.

And it is hereby enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any   of them, and they are hereby authoriſed and impowered to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or deſcription of perſons within the ſaid colonies, provinces or plantations.

And that no lett or hindrances may happen from the vacancy of the office of Governor and Commander in Chief in any of the ſaid colonies, provinces or plantations reſpectively, or from the abſence of ſuch officer from his government, *Be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid,* That the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any   of them, ſhall have full power and authority in any of the ſaid colonies, provinces or plantations reſpectively, wherein his Majeſty hath uſually heretofore nominated and appointed a Governor, to nominate and appoint, by any inſtrument under their hands and ſeals, a proper perſon to be the Governor and Commander in Chief in and for any ſuch colony, province or plantation, to have, hold, and exerciſe, during his Majeſty's pleaſure, the ſaid office of Governor and Commander in Chief in and for ſuch colony or plantation reſpectively, with all ſuch powers and authorities as any Governor of ſuch province heretofore appointed by his Majeſty might or could have exerciſed, in as full and complete manner and form, as if ſuch Governor and Commander in Chief had been nominated and appointed by his Majeſty's letters patent or commiſſion, and for that purpoſe, if need be, to revoke, annul, and make void any commiſſion or letters patent heretofore granted, for appointing any ſuch Governor and Commander in Chief.

And be it further enacted, That this Act ſhall continue to be in force until the firſt day of June which ſhall be in the year 1779.

Philadelphia, 14th April, 1778.

Publiſhed by order of the Commander in Chief.

ROBERT MACKENZIE, *Secretary.*

In CONGRESS, April 22, 1778.

THE Committee to whom was referred the General's letter of the 18th, containing a certain printed paper ſent from Philadelphia, purporting to be the draught of a bill for declaring the *intentions* of the Parliament of Great-Britain, as to the *exerciſe* of what they are pleaſed to term their *right* of impoſing taxes within theſe United States; and alſo the draught of a bill to enable the King of Great-Britain to appoint Commiſſioners, with powers to treat, conſult and agree upon the means of quieting certain diſorders within the ſaid States, beg leave to obſerve,

That the ſaid paper being induſtriouſly circulated by emiſſaries of the enemy, in a partial and ſecret manner, the ſame ought to be forthwith printed for the public information.

The Committee cannot [illegible] whether the contents of the ſaid paper have [illegible] Great-Britain, [illegible] truly intended to be brought [illegible] kingdom, or whether the ſaid [illegible] thereon the uſual ſolemnities of their laws. But are inclined to believe this will happen, for the following reaſons:

1ſt. Becauſe their General hath made divers feeble efforts to ſet on foot ſome kind of treaty during the laſt winter, though, either from a miſtaken idea of his own dignity and importance, the want of information, or ſome other cauſe, he hath not made application to thoſe who are inveſted with a proper authority.

2dly. Becauſe they ſuppoſe that the fallacious idea of a ceſſation of hoſtilities will render theſe States remiſs in their preparations for war.

3dly. Becauſe believing the Americans wearied with war, they ſuppoſe we will accede to their terms for the ſake of peace.

4thly. Becauſe they ſuppoſe that our negociations may be ſubject to a like corrupt influence with their debates.

5thly. Becauſe they expect from this ſtep the ſame effects they did from what one of their miniſters thought proper to call his *conciliatory motion*, viz. that it will prevent foreign powers from giving aid to theſe States; that it will lead their own ſubjects to continue a little longer the preſent war; and that it will detach ſome weak men in America from the cauſe of freedom and virtue.

6thly. Becauſe their King, from his own ſhewing, hath reaſon to apprehend that his fleets and armies, inſtead of being employed againſt the territories of theſe States, will be neceſſary for the defence of his own dominions. And

7thly. Becauſe the impracticability of ſubjugating this country being every day more and more manifeſt, it is their intereſt to extricate themſelves from the war upon any terms.

The Committee beg leave further to obſerve, That, upon a ſuppoſition the matters contained in the ſaid paper will really go into the Britiſh Statute Book, they ſerve to ſhow, in a clear point of view, the weakneſs and wickedneſs of the enemy. THEIR WEAKNESS,

1ſt. Becauſe they formerly declared, not only that they had a right to bind the inhabitants of theſe States in all caſes whatſoever, but alſo that the ſaid inhabitants ſhould *abſolutely* and *unconditionally* ſubmit to the exerciſe of that right. And this ſubmiſſion they have endeavoured to exact by the ſword. Receding from this claim, therefore, under the preſent circumſtances, ſhews their inability to enforce it.

2dly. Becauſe their Prince hath heretofore rejected the humbleſt petitions of the Repreſentatives of America, praying to be conſidered as ſubjects, and protected in the enjoyment of peace, liberty and ſafety; and hath waged a moſt cruel war againſt them, and employed the ſavages to butcher innocent women and children. But now the ſame Prince pretends to treat with thoſe very Repreſentatives, and grant to the *arms* of America what he refuſed to her *prayers*.

3dly. Becauſe they have uniformly laboured to conquer this continent, rejecting every idea of accommodation propoſed to them, from a confidence in their own ſtrength. Wherefore it is evident, from the change in their mode of attack, that they have loſt this confidence. And

4thly. Becauſe the conſtant language, ſpoken not only by their Miniſters, but by the moſt public and authentic acts of the nation, hath been, that it is incompatible with their dignity to treat with the Americans while they have arms in their hands. Notwithſtanding which, an offer is now about to be made for treaty.

The *wickedneſs and inſincerity* of the enemy appear from the following conſiderations.

1ſt. Either the *Bills* now to be paſſed contain a direct or indirect ceſſion of a part of their former claims, or they do not. If they do, then it is acknowledged that they have ſacrificed many brave men in an unjuſt quarrel. If they do not, then they are calculated to deceive America into terms, to which neither argument before the war, nor force ſince, could procure her aſſent.

2dly. The firſt of theſe *Bills* appears, from the title, to be a declaration of the *intentions* of the Britiſh Parliament concerning the exerciſe of the *right of impoſing taxes* within theſe States. Wherefore, ſhould theſe States treat under the ſaid bill, they would indirectly *acknowledge* that right, to obtain which acknowledgment the preſent war hath been avowedly undertaken and proſecuted on the part of Great-Britain.

3dly. Should ſuch pretended right be ſo acquieſced in, then, of conſequence, the ſame might be exerciſed whenever the Britiſh Parliament ſhould find themſelves in a different *temper and diſpoſition*; ſince it muſt depend upon thoſe, and ſuch like contingencies, how far men will act according to their former *intentions*.

4thly. The ſaid firſt Bill, in the body thereof, containeth no new matter, but is preciſely the ſame with the motion before-mentioned, and liable to all the objections which lay againſt the ſaid motion, excepting the following particular, viz. that *by the motion* actual taxation was to be ſuſpended, ſo long as America ſhould give as much as the ſaid Parliament might think proper: Whereas, *by the propoſed Bill*, it is to be ſuſpended, as long as future Parliaments continue of the ſame mind with the preſent.

5thly. From the ſecond Bill it appears, that the Britiſh King may, if he pleaſes, appoint Commiſſioners to *treat* and *agree* with thoſe, whom they pleaſe, about a variety of things therein mentioned. But ſuch treaties and agreements are to be of no validity without the concurrence of the ſaid Parliament, except ſo far as they relate to the *ſuſpenſion* of hoſtilities, and of certain of their acts, the granting of pardons, and the appointing of Governors to theſe ſovereign, free and independent States. Wherefore, the ſaid Parliament have reſerved to themſelves, in *expreſs words*, the power of ſetting aſide any ſuch treaty, and taking the advantage of any circumſtances which may ariſe to ſubject this continent to their uſurpations.

6thly. The ſaid Bill, by holding forth a tender of pardon, implies a criminality in our juſtifiable reſiſtance, and conſequently, to treat under it would be an implied acknowledgment that the inhabitants of theſe States were, what Britain hath declared them to be, *Rebels*.

7thly. The inhabitants of theſe States being claimed by them as ſubjects, they may infer, from the nature of the negotiation now pretended to be ſet on foot, that the ſaid inhabitants would of right be afterwards bound by ſuch laws as they ſhould make. Wherefore any agreement entered into on ſuch negotiation might at any future time be repealed. And

8thly. Becauſe the ſaid Bill purports, that the Commiſſioners therein mentioned may treat with private individuals; a meaſure highly derogatory to the dignity of national character.

From all which it appears evident to your Committee, that the ſaid Bills are intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of theſe States, ſo as to create diviſions among them, and a defection from the common cauſe, now by the bleſſing of Divine Providence drawing near to a favourable iſſue. That they are the ſequel of that inſidious plan, which, from the days of the Stamp-act down to the preſent time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodſhed. And that, as in other caſes ſo in this, altho' circumſtances may force them at times to recede from their unjuſtifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will as heretofore, upon the firſt favourable occaſion, again diſplay that luſt of domination, which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

Upon the whole matter, the Committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as the Americans united in this arduous conteſt upon principles of common intereſt, for the defence of common rights and privileges, which union hath been cemented by common calamities and by mutual good offices and affection, ſo the great cauſe for which they contend, and in which all mankind are intereſted, muſt derive its ſucceſs from the continuance of that union. Wherefore any man or body of men, who ſhould preſume to make any ſeparate or partial convention or agreement with Commiſſioners under the crown of Great-Britain, or any of them, ought to be conſidered and treated as open and avowed enemies of theſe United States.

And further your Committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, That theſe United States cannot, with propriety, hold any conference or treaty with *any* Commiſſioners on the part of Great-Britain, unleſs they ſhall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe, in poſitive and expreſs terms, acknowledge the Independence of the ſaid States.

And inaſmuch as it appears to be the deſign of the enemies of theſe States to lull them into a fatal ſecurity—to the end that they may act with a becoming weight and importance, it is the opinion of your Committee, That the ſeveral States be called upon to uſe the moſt ſtrenuous exertions to have their reſpective quotas of continental troops in the field as ſoon as poſſible, and that all the militia of the ſaid States be held in readineſs to act as occaſion may require.

The report being read, and debated by paragraphs,

Reſolved unanimouſly, That Congreſs approve and confirm the ſaid report.

Publiſhed by order of Congreſs,
CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Lord North's conciliatory propoſitions in the Houſe of Commons, on the 20th of February, 1775.

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that when
“ the General Council and Aſſembly, or General Court
“ of any of his Majeſty's provinces or colonies in Ame-
“ rica ſhall propoſe to make proviſion, according to the
“ condition, circumſtance or ſituation of ſuch province
“ or colony, for contributing their proportion to the
“ common defence (ſuch proportion to be raiſed under
“ the authority of the General Court or Aſſembly of ſuch
“ province, and diſpoſable by Parliament) and ſhall en-
“ gage to make proviſion alſo for the ſupport of the civil
“ government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, in ſuch
“ province or colony, it will be proper, if ſuch propoſal
“ ſhall be approved by his Majeſty and the two Houſes of
“ Parliament, and for ſo long as ſuch proviſion ſhall be
“ made accordingly, to forbear in reſpect of ſuch colony
“ to lay any duty, tax or aſſeſſment, or to impoſe any
“ further duty, tax or aſſeſſment, except only ſuch du-
“ ties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or im-
“ poſe for the regulation of commerce; the net produce
“ of the duties laſt mentioned to be carried to the ac-
“ count of ſuch province or colony reſpectively.”

Lord North, in ſupporting his motion, declared in plain terms a revenue from America was what the Miniſtry contended for, that a very heavy debt had been contracted laſt war by defending the colonies, which they ought to pay.

The following prophetic ſentences, extracted from Mr. Burke's Oration in March, 1775, upon his conciliatory propoſitions, are recommended to the ſerious peruſal and conſideration of the author of the foregoing ſpeech.—“ Con-
“ ciliation failing, force remains; but force failing, there
“ is no farther hope of conciliation. Power and autho-
“ rity may indeed be bought by kindneſs, but they can-
“ not be begged as alms by an impoveriſhed and defeated
“ violence.”

BOSTON April 9.

Sunday laſt General Burgoyne ſet off from Cambridge for Rhode-Iſland, in order to embark for Great-Britain, on parole, agreeable to the reſolution of Congreſs.

The Raleigh frigate, of 32 guns, Capt. Thompſon, arrived at Portſmouth on Tueſday laſt. She ſailed from L'Orient 29th Dec. laſt, in company with the Alfred, to cruize off Madeira, on the coaſt of Africa, and from thence croſs the Windward Iſlands to Boſton; ſhe ſaw no Engliſh veſſel during the cruiſe, except a ſloop with wines, which they took off Senegal bar from an anchor, until they came to windward of Deſeada, where they fell in with two Britiſh ſhips of war; the Alfred bore away at a very unfavourable time to try to make her eſcape, and was taken. They afterwards chaſed the Raleigh 19 hours, at about ſix miles diſtance, who got off by outſailing them. The Raleigh and Alfred have taken ſix prizes ſince they left America laſt September, all of whom, except one brig with ſalt, have arrived.

NEW-LONDON, April 10.

We have accounts from Newport, that laſt Sabbath 32 ſail of ſhipping ſailed from that place for New-York, part of which went through the Sound on Monday and Tueſday, the remainder went without Long-Iſland: The ſame time a number of ſhips went down the Sound: We have alſo accounts from Newport, which make it probable that the enemy are diſmantling their fortifications, and embarking their heavy cannon, horſes, &c. and it is apprehended that they are about quitting Rhode-Iſland.

FISH-KILL, April 16.

Extract of a letter from an officer at Horſe-Neck, to a gentleman in this town, dated April 14.

“ Laſt Saturday night a party of Col. Meig's regiment, conſiſting of 15 men, under the command of Lieutenant Lay, croſſed to Long-Iſland, and cut two ſloops out of Hempſtead-Harbour, bound to New-York; one was deeply laden with wood, the other with vegetables, which they brought ſafe to Horſe-Neck, and unloaded.—They took 4 priſoners.

TRENTON, April 15.

Extract of a letter from Monmouth county, April 9.

“ About 135 of the enemy landed on Sunday laſt about ten o'clock, on the ſouth ſide of Squan inlet, burnt all the ſalt-works, broke the kettles, ſtripped the beds, &c. of ſome people there, who, I fear, wiſhed to ſerve them—then croſſed the river and burnt all excepting Dirrick Longſtreet's: After this miſchief they embarked. The next day they landed at Shark river, and ſet fire to two ſmall works, when they obſerved fifteen horſemen heave in ſight, which occaſioned them to retreat with great precipitation, indeed they jumped in their flat-boats in ſuch confuſion that they ſunk one or two of them. One of their pilots was the noted Thomas Oakeſon. The enemy conſiſted chiefly of Greens, the reſt Highlanders.”

Lancaſter, April 7, 1778.

THE Managers of the LOTTERY have the pleaſure to acquaint the Public, that the ſale of tickets has been very rapid ſince the time of drawing was abſolutely determined: And as the day is near at hand, being the firſt of next month, requeſt ſuch as chuſe to be adventurers to be ſpeedy in their application, as the tickets remaining unſold will be ſoon drawn in from the different agents—Letters by poſt or otherwiſe to the office at Lancaſter, will be duly attended to.

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